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Tupí-Guaraní SL6
Bacairi SP7 ●
Arawakan Indians SR6
Cariban Indians SR7
Carib SR9
Macusi SR11
Rucuyen SR12
Cumana SS9

/For information on the terminologies and nomenclatures in the native vernacular applied by the Carib-speaking and some other northern South American tribes to various species of mammalian fauna in their habitats, see 3: Simpson, SS16 Pemon, Category 116, particularly pp. 4A-10B. /

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020 Surroundings, even in the regions of the unconscious, is best shown by the fact that from the 15th to the 16th of September, as well as during the following night, I dreamed of my German home and saw all my acquaintances there just as naked as the Bakaïrî: I myself was astonished about it in my dream, but my table partner at a dinner party, a highly respectable lady in whom I took an interest, reassured me immediately by saying: "Everyone goes around that way now."

123 The purpose that we associate with clothing remained
291 hidden from them; there was no doubt about that when one saw in what naïve fashion they put on the parts of my apparel that they got hold of for a while. And how could they know any more about the rigors of our climate than about the third chapter of the first book of Moses? They played with my garments /Pl. V appears here/ /65/ like vain children. Luchu was happy when I loaned him my poncho, and with it and my hat he walked proudly about the village plaza like the most conceited fop.

291 In the ethnographic description of the Kulisehu tribes I shall have to come back to the subject of clothing and the feeling of modesty; here I can only truthfully report that in my association with these people I did not see anything of our feeling of modesty, but I did observe another kind, absolutely foreign to us, about which I shall report presently.

124 During the inquiry into the vocabulary, the parts of the body
192 represented important and easily handled material. The Bakaïrî
831 found it very amusing that I wanted to know everything, but, on the other hand, were very proud that their language was so rich and that the Bakaïrî had a word for each part. They became very merry at this point in my questioning and were not wanting in prompt answers where, according to our conceptions, they should have been ashamed and if possible answered in Latin or in the language of children. Considerately -- for at this time I, of course, was looking through my cultural spectacles and saw that they were naked -- I had waited for a moment when the women had gone out of the hut; I was astonished by the fact that the answer that was due suddenly came from the outside, from a very amused girl's voice. My caution had been purposeless. It was the caution of,

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124 say, an Arab, who would feel awkward about looking into the un-
 23 veiled face of a European woman, or a Chinese, who would fall
 • [42] into the most anguished embarrassment if chance showed him her
 stockingless little foot. It is true, the subject that seems shocking
 to us gave the Bakairi, men and women, decided pleasure, and
 if a pedantic ponderer who wants to have modesty in our sense
 preserved at any price as the innate heritage of humanity would
 like to conclude from this increased measure of merriment that
 the bad conscience of a tribe that had sunk from a higher morality
 was stirring, I can only reply to him that their merry laughter was
 neither impudent nor did it give the impression of cloaking an
 inner embarrassment. On the other hand, it undoubtedly had a
 slightly erotic timbre, and, much as occasion and accompanying
 circumstances among true primitive peoples must differ, it
 altogether resembled the laughter that one hears at our spinning-
 party jokes, at games of forfeit, or other harmless entertainment
 in the intercourse between the two sexes. For from this same
 [53] natural joy, as we shall see later, there resulted one of the most
 common ornaments in their painting, namely, the uluri of the
 women, represented on numerous implements as the original form
 of the triangle.

126 I wished to have the uluris made in larger quantities for
 the collection. Which aroused great merriment. Thus one after-
 noon there was lively tailoring. We were sitting behind Tumayau's
 [252] house, an old woman was baking betjis outside, pouring the flour
 [524] on the pan, spreading it smooth, and /66/ skillfully tossing the
 [283] finished flat-cake on a sieve, the children licked up püsergo and
 [289] played catch with feather-decorated maize bats, and four women
 and girls were twisting the threads out of palm fiber, folding the
 "little skirts" out of brownish-yellow leaves, and handing me the
 neat work in quantity and in all sizes. The only thing that I must
 126 add is that one woman was very baffled and looked about helplessly
 291 when I asked for an uluri that she was wearing. But no feeling of
 modesty related to the exposure had anything to do with this em-
 barrassment; rather, what feeling of modesty was present should
 be called a physiological one, the existence of which I do not

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Their need for probing into the nature of new things was exhausted, except for the question as to whether I had made them, with the second one as to their names /77/ "Eséti?" "Eséti?" "What is that called?" cried the whole company in unison, and they all took honest pains to repeat after me the Portuguese words. One or another would often go on whispering the word to himself for a long time while the conversation went on. They were unable to pronounce two consonants in succession. But if now and then they succeeded in correctly reproducing the appropriate word, their joy was great, and I had the impression that the object itself now also seemed more familiar to them. "Papéra," from the Portuguese papel, "paper," was given as the name for my notebook, and whereas at first they could not examine and touch the incomprehensible thing enough, they could now quickly come to terms with it: it was quite simply "papéra."

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Anywhere in the world a foreign language is encountered, one will very soon know what "a pretty girl" is. Their "pekóto iwáku" or the more endearing "pekóto iwakulukúlu" I could translate for them with the words "moça bonita," which they were well able to imitate and which they now practiced with delight. I had first taught my "moça bonita" to Eva; she laughed, blushed, and pronounced it daintily and distinctly. She continued to laugh, poked her husband Kulekule in the ribs -- just as a vigorous person who is pleased about a good idea would do among us -- the two whispered together, and I was asked to say what "a handsome man" might be. When I once imitated Tumayaua's attempts at Portuguese, which in truth were not very successful, even though he was chief, the entire chorus laughed so much that they were unable to talk for laughing; they fairly yodeled with abandon.

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These were the gloomy and reserved Indians. If the talk became too much for them, everybody yawned openly and without holding the hand in front of the mouth. It was not to be denied that the wholesome reflex was catching here, too. Then one after another would stand up and I remained alone with my guard.

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The simple result is that all kinds of things that do not belong to it are regarded as part of the stem, and the form is used on all kinds of occasions where it is appropriate neither according to person, time sequence, or other nuances contained in it. The organic structure of words becomes rigid, and the sentence becomes a mosaic of the crudest sort made up of nothing but fragments. But there is provision for understanding; for the Indian, with his talent for the characteristic, the chopped-off fragment of a word suffices completely for the entire sentence, and, what is worse, if one wants to make progress in the language, it is all the more agreeable, of course, if one needs only the clumsy content of the communication; he himself soon adopts the new manner of expression: fluent conversations are carried on by barter with stamped coins instead with living words.

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What made my recording not a little difficult was the circumstance that the Bakaïrî did not understand my questioning tone. They imitated it instead of answering. Obtaining the names of the objects present was done without any trouble; they even anticipated the need, pointed to those I had not yet asked about, and said the names. I went into great detail with the parts of the body because they are always joined with pronominal prefixes; thus the Indian does not say, for example, "tongue," but always, with the addition of the person, "my tongue," "your tongue," "his tongue," and thus there is a grammatical value in this category of the list. It was therefore well to note whether the part of the body whose stem one was asking for was shown on oneself, on the person questioned, or on a third person, for the answer was accordingly: your âlu, my ulu, his ilu, or in general kʷulu, the tongue of all of us here.

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Recording animal names was a pleasure, for here the imitation with sounds and gestures was the most artful. A snake, an alligator head, or the like was also drawn in the sand. The quantity of the many individual statements was a hindrance to me, since I did not know enough about the voices and the behavior of their animals; they offered me subtleties in the distinction of species which, to their surprise, I was unable to appreciate, and

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sometimes I am afraid I betrayed what to them were incredible gaps in the most ordinary education.

The most difficult problem lay in the verbs, and, to be sure, not only because of the complication of forms. If I succeeded in writing down short sentences in which something was said about an occurrence that was just going on, even if I myself performed all kinds of actions, such as eating and drinking now of this, now of that, which were supposed to give them the content of a sentence, /80/ gross errors were nevertheless unavoidable. Unfortunately, they often said things that were different from what they were supposed to say according to my request and criticized the action instead of naming it. They were thinking for themselves and not for me. And in these efforts their readiness to imitate was disturbing to a high degree. I thought nothing would be easier than to obtain at least those intransitive verbs that could be evoked by unequivocal mimicry on my part; I would indeed need only to sneeze, cough, weep, yawn, snore, only to get up, sit down, to fall, and so forth, in order to be immediately rewarded with the matching words. But they either clung to the contemplation of the process itself, thought I wanted to go away when I stood up, righteously joined in when I yawned, because they, too, were tired, or were royally amused at my strange doings, and, amidst much laughter, would likewise abandon themselves to sneezing, coughing, and snoring, without, however, saying the redeeming words.

I made the best progress when I gave them the Portuguese word and applied the formula: the Karaibe says it thus, how does the Bakairi say it? Here I finally almost always met with understanding and response, for they were mad about learning my language.

They were very grieved that they did not understand me better, and, confusing hearing and understanding, they asked me to cure them. I had to put saliva on my fingers and with it rub the auditory entrance for them. Their comprehension of Portuguese was even more deficient than they themselves realized. They have

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151 no f in their store of sounds and replace it with p: if I said fogo
191 (fire), fumo (tobacco), they would say pogo, pumo. But they
194 heard, or, more correctly, apperceived, the f also as p: they
were, as far as I could see, firmly convinced that they were pro-
nouncing the same sound that I had said to them. Their attitude
was entirely different if, for example, I gave them too long a
word, then they struggled and despaired of it, but with regard to
fogo, fumo, f..., the more emphatically and loudly I said it,
the more emphatically and loudly they joined in: pogo, pumo,
p..., with decided indigantion over my dissatisfaction.

128 I was obliged to be content with completing the vocabulary
as much as possible and interpreting the sentences to the best
of my knowledge. I did not achieve an actual translation that
would do justice to the subtleties of their language; whatever I
was able to offer in this respect in my book Die Bakairf-Sprache
/The Bakairf Language/ (Leipzig, K. F. Köhler, 1892), I owe
192 to Antonio. I was especially very peculiarly touched by their
joy over the richness of their stock of words. They manifested
great pleasure at having a word for every object, as though the
name itself were a sort of thing and piece of property. That the
number of concepts depends primarily on interest was clearly
evident. On the one hand, in comparison with our languages, an
abundance of words, such as animal names or kinship terms; on
the other hand, a poverty at first surprising: yélo is "lightning"
and "thunder"; kxôpô, rain, /81/ thunderstorm, and cloud. Now
of course, almost all rains in their region are associated with
thunderstorm phenomena, and the cloud in the sky has interest
for them only insofar as it means an approaching thunderstorm.
The fact that, when they combine into one concept, in their
word yélo, the visual and audible aspect of the electrical dis-
charge, thunder is the more essential part is shown by the fact
that they also call the buzzing whizzer-stick yélo. I, who pro-
ceeded from the idea of the magic instrument, according to
the custom of mythologists, who was looking for the uncanny and
recognized this primarily in the flashing streak, at first translated
the word as "lightning" instead of "thunder."

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192 The real poverty is in the lack of superordinate concepts,
811 as among all primitive peoples. They have a word for "bird," which probably means "winged," but the North Karaiben have another stem toro- or tono-, which among the Bakaïrf also means very ordinary birds, a species of parrot or wild chicken /Waldhuhn/. Each parrot has its particular name and the more general concept of "parrot" is completely lacking, just as the concept "palm" is lacking. They know the characteristics of each parrot and palm species very precisely, however, and cling so to these numerous individual facts that they pay no attention to the common features, which, to be sure, have no interest. Thus, one sees that their poverty is only a poverty of higher units; they are choked by the mass of material and cannot handle it economically. They deal only in small change, but in the number of pieces in their possession they should be called superrich rather than poor. In building up their thoughts they set their ideas together like an endless wall of uniform stones and as yet have scarcely any notion of architectonic structure.

811 Their ineptness at forming abstractions came out most clearly in my efforts with regard to their art of counting. About this,
128 however, I should like to report later in a separate chapter, so that now I may finally take up once more the thread of our travel chronicle and return to Independencia, to my traveling companions. In my description of my Bakaïrf idyl I have been very detailed to some extent, but will thus be saved many details in the later portrayal, since the picture among the other tribes was essentially the same, even though I was never again able to enjoy it so quietly.

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* [171] well-meaning advice that I should pluck it out. The lashes re-
 302 moved so radically would not by any means grow scantily, as is
 proved by the magnificent lashes of the "docile" Indians. /Pl.
 XIV appears here./ /177/ Moreover, the grooming of the beard
 was by far the most neglected, and thus the custom of removing
 the hair probably did not start with it.

Regarding the pubic hair, which only the Suyá men did not
 remove, whereas their absolutely naked women did, one can ex-
 pect the rather coarsely naïve natives to regard its presence as
 particularly ugly. Yet it is scarcely satisfactory to assume that
 it is only man's innate pleasure in a smooth skin which has
 prompted the unclothed native to carry on such energetic destruc-
 tive warfare against all body hair. There is no lack of reasons
 why it often seems annoying. People say that even insects which
 are not eaten as lice are get into the beard, underarm, and
 pubic hair and mat it down, just as in our case bees in particular
 became entangled there; people remember the tubercles and
 blisters on perspiring skin, which are doubly sensitive in hair,
 the uncleanness caused by blood and dirt, the convenience of
 attack for underbrush as well as for the pugnacity of one's fellow
 men, and thus they find many situations in which the body hair
 of a naked person may cause more annoyance than pleasure. On

[517] the other hand, the pastime and enjoyment which plucking the
 hair and working over the bodies with small implements provide
 people in lazy hours must also be given their due. Finally, it is
 [826] perhaps not entirely irrelevant that hair and feathers are regarded
 [811] as a sort of plant growth. The word for hair and feathers among
 [192] the Bakaïrî, and probably also in other languages, was originally
 the same as forest, and the concepts are basically related, regard-
 less of whether the vegetative was taken from the corporeal, or
 vice versa. Hair and plants grow; they are also cleared away,
 at least the short weeds.

I should like to put foremost, however, a simple motive
 operating daily. Just as skin and hair belong together, I am
 thinking, in association with the custom of plucking, of a con-
 nection with the other custom of body painting, of cosmetics,
 which Joest maintains is older than bathing. For the painting of

[Text continues on p. 164]

/187 cont./

- *171 the Bakairi Luchu, in a pleasant idle hour, treat himself to a
 302 serpentine line with dots beside it on his thigh, and just as plainer
 751 people among us dress only modestly even on Sunday, so an
 Indian of more unassuming temperament is content to permit
 himself for the celebration of a joyful event merely a painting
 of the forehead and nose or of the calves, instead of a linear de-
 sign. By and large, however, I find it clearly evident that
 daubing is done for utilitarian purposes and one decorates himself
 with designs for beautification purposes, and I conclude from this
 that cosmetics were not adornment at first. And this is all the
 [822] more to be maintained inasmuch as to this day only secondary
 value is put on the color of their coloring materials, since they
 scorn white altogether, make no particular distinction between
 red and black, and since they have disproportionately more
 beautiful colors at their disposal in their feather ornaments. The
 • [192] development of color words, as we shall see, also speaks in favor
 of this view.

I need scarcely point out that among the purposes of
 daubing regarded as useful the medicinal ones were not lacking
 and encouraged the custom. I shall cite a specific and very
 common case presently in connection with the scarifier. When
 Moritona, the great medicine man of the Yaulapiti, smeared
 the remainder of our pea soup over a broad area of his chest,
 the motive of delight in color probably played only a minor part.

- *171 The designs were of different kinds. Simple finger
 302 strokes, bold stripes, for example, from eye to ear, or the
 beautifying of the same Moritona: a black stripe from the nose
 to the navel, stripes that followed the contours of the shoulder
 blades, dots on chest and arms, wavy lines along the thighs,
 dotted arcs across the chest, a zigzag down the back and legs,
 [619] and the like. In part there was involved in this a bold outlining
 or intersection of the anatomical contours, in part imitation
 animal skin-design, but everything was the choice of the individ-
 ual person and there were no tribal designs. The conspicuous
 painting of individual parts of the body, for instance, forehead
 and nose, may be regarded as a transition to the ordinary broader

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there is historical proof here for the shift of the Karaiben from south to north is not affected by it. The shift of latitude is also very considerable, for today the Suyá live on the 11th degree of latitude and previously on the Rio Verde lived considerably farther south, whereas the Apiaká are already in close proximity to the Amazon River.

The linguistic relationship of the Apiaká and Bakaĩrĩ is close, but no closer than that of several Karaiben tribes north of the Amazonas and the Bakaĩrĩ! It is very interesting that in many cases the Apiaká already have consonant terminal sounds and double consonants within the word. I am presenting a few words from Ehrenreich's vocabulary, which has not yet been published. The pronominal prefix of the first person is i-, which in Bakaĩrĩ sometimes belongs to the first person, sometimes to the third.

- Tooth ieri, Bak. véri, Karaiben in general;
 Tongue elo (e slightly audible), Bak. ilu (third person);
 Hand omiat, Bak. omári (second person);
 Foot ipun, Bak. ixúlu (third person);
 Thigh iwet, Bak. ewéti (third person);
 Lower leg iptchin, Bak. išchinári (third person);
 Nose inam, Bak. inári (third person);
 Ear iuanan, Bak. iwanatári (third person);
 Bone itpun, Bak. ipiri;
 Water paru, Bak. páru water, river;
 River paru ime, Bak. páru ima large river;
 Sun tschitschi, Bak. tschíachi;
 Moon nuno, Bak. núna;
 Heaven kabo, Bak. káu;
 Rain kongpo, Bak. kXópō;
 Fire kampot (Bak. péto), Rukuyenne and others wapoto, apoto,
 cf. the table in Bakaĩrĩ-Grammatik, p. 278.
 Tree, wood, yéi, Bak. se, Makuschĩ yeh, yéi;
 Father ongmā, Bak. iyúme;

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Mother iāmā, Bak. ise.

192 /401 cont./

Uncle koko (patruus /father's brother/, matruus /mother's brother/), Bak. kXúgo matruus;
 Grandfather tamko, Bak. itámo, Galibi tamoko;
 Arrow pirom, Bak. püléu, piráu;
 Bow topkat, Bak. tákXo;
 Tobacco tawe (e scarcely audible), Bak. táwe;
 Maize ánat, Bak. anfzi;
 Beijú abar, Bak. awátu;
 Batata nabiot, Bak. náwi;
 Banana uomium, Docile Bak. banana;
 Fish uot, North Kar. boto, uoto fish, Bak. póto wild game;
 Piranha ponā, Bak. pāne;
 - Snake ogoi, Bak. agáu;
 Jaguar ogro, Bak. áká.

Here I have, of course, chosen very clear correspondences, which is what matters at this point. The banana is again designated with a new word foreign to all Karaiben idioms; the Apiaká were as little familiar with the fruit in their central habitation as the Suyá from whom they fled, and they probably first made its acquaintance in the region between the Schingú and the Araguay.

Numerous tributaries of the Tapajoz, Schingú, and Araguay are as yet completely unexplored. I am quite confident that there is still many a Karaiben people living there. The Arara west of the lower course of the Schingú are suspicious because of their tattooing. The above-mentioned Pimenteira in the province of Piauhý provide the easternmost trace of the Karaiben. Martius reports that since the year 1775 they have broken out from time to time between the sources of the Piauhý and the Gorguea and alarmed the farms of the upper Piauhý. "Members of this horde were already settled in former times in Quebrobro along the Rio de San Francisco." "The greater part of them is still roving

* Zur Ethnographie Amerikas, zumal Brasiliens /On the Ethnography of America, particularly Brazil/, pp. 348, 349. Leipzig, 1867.

C /401 cont./
174 about independently, and the fazendeiros have the right to use those of them whom they can capture as slaves for ten years or to sell them." It is earnestly to be wished that a part of the

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[113] "Spix and Martius, Reise in Brasilien /Travels in Brazil/, II, p. 805. Munich, 1828.

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197 natives had escaped this fine system of the beginning of the century and were available for a thorough investigation. The brief vocabulary which Spix and Martius set down in Piauhy (Glossary, p. 219) and in which Martius already recognized correspondences with Karaiben dialects -- he mentions Tamanako -- would not in the least, however, satisfy the requirements for pure Karaiben. Nevertheless, with all the mixture with Gês or Tupî tribes, the Karaiben elements are unmistakable and more numerous than Martius probably suspected. They are the words for: tooth, tongue, arm, chest, thigh, toe, uncle, father, brother, child, companion, sun, (moon), wood, fire, earth, thunder, arrow, /402/ mandioca, tobacco (pipe), to sleep. Only there is such a swarm of ô, â, ü that familiar words seem very distorted, for example, mandioca, Bak. ichêre, Pim. uütschôrô, or arm, Tamanako japari (Bak. wing, sawôri), Pim. söbarôh.

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174 While the Palmella and the Pimenteira, according to everything that we know thus far, seem somewhat isolated in foreign surroundings, the united Bakaîrî and Nahuquá represent a very considerable complex, and at the same time their geographical location in the source region of the Tapajoz and Schingû is remarkably suitable for the hypothesis of the shift toward the north insofar as the southernmost of the North Karaiben on the left bank of the Amazonas are directly adjacent just opposite the mouths of the Tapajoz and Schingû. I am far from regarding the Bakaîrî or Nahuquá as, say, the remnants of the unaltered Karaiben base-people /Grundvolk/; but rather I merely believe that everything suggests that they live closest to the original home of the base-people. That there was such a base-people, though perhaps, after all, a small tribe, is an

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8 They all had in common a word each for 1) red and orange,
171 2) yellow, 3) white, 4) black. This therefore corresponds
192 exactly with their dyestuffs. The Auetó had the same word, the
T "white" of the Tupí language, for white and light yellow. The
171 Trumai were the only ones who had two words for blue and green:
192 the rest designated these two colors with the same word. Among
the Bakaírf /Bacairi/, however, tamagenéng blue - black and
dark brown, and green is tukuéng: it also happened that one of
them would use tukuéng for blue as well, but not tamagenéng for
green. Now and then the strangest things occurred. A Trumai
and a Nahuquá designated blue with the same word as cadmium
yellow, a Bakaírf and a Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ designated green
just the same as red -- if one wished, one could discover the
various types of color blindness among any of them one happened
to be investigating.

8 Only linguistic research can give the key for these phenom-
171 ena. For a number of the color words I am able to give the origi-
192 nal meaning, and they will suffice to explain possibilities of
196 this kind. It is quite certain that the Kamayurá /Camayura/ word
"blue" or "green" i-tsovü-maé = parakeet-colored" from tsövü,
the name of the *Conurus* species or parakeets. These parrots
have grass green as well as indigo blue in their feathers. In Tupí
the same color word is cúgui, cy, and the parakeet is called tovi,
tui, civi, ciui. Thanks to the Kamayurá form, i-tsovü-maé, the
origin of cúgui, already obliterated in the Tupí, is still preserved.
Whether I showed the Indian a blue or a green daub, a blue string
of beads or a green leaf, his answer, "parakeet-colored," was,
indeed, correct. It all depends on which part of the coloring
he visualized. The Auetó word i-kör-etü, "green" or "blue,"
perhaps corresponds to the "parrot" of the Tupí, jeru, softened
from keru, so that we would have here "parrot-colored."

The tukuéng "green" of the Bakaírf also goes back to the
parakeet zugü-ri.^{*} Now since there is a parakeet species kept in

* The name of the parakeet is onomatopoeic,
hence very similar among Bakaírf, Tupí, and
Bororó.

/420 cont. /

171 the houses by the natives, /421/ one which has a beautiful red
 192 spot next to the beak, I assume that one Bakairi woman recalled
 196 this little animal when, to my astonishment, she designated
 emerald green, vermillion, and ultramarine, one after the other,
 as tukuéng! This was all correct, but at that time I myself had
 no idea of the connection, and, shaking my head, I put the re-
 sult down on paper with big exclamation marks. Luckily, the
 people had not derived a color word from the red arara of the
 lower Schingü; they would have been able to give the baffled
 European a palette of practically all the clashing colors with
 one word. Moreover, it is at least possible that the Bakairi and
 North Karaiben word for red means "the color of fruit"; in this
 case one person who is by no means color-blind for red might,
 by way of exception, also use the word for green (emerald green
 and sap-green), whereas the others generally used it for orange,
 vermillion, and carmine. The derivation of the Tupi word ti,
ting, tinga for "white" from ty, urine, sap, juice, can probably
 be defended; in that case it would surely not be surprising if the
 Auetó designate white and light yellow with it.

The Bakairi word for white is "salt"-colored, the one for
 black, "soot"-colored. The latter, as has been mentioned, also
 serves for blue and dark brown, and, whereas green = parakeet-
 colored could also be "blue," blue = soot-colored could not be
 "green."

Thus it follows that some of the color words may have more
 than one meaning. It is obvious that where this is the case usage
 will gradually be restricted to one quality; the important thing
 is merely usage which develops the need for distinction. The
 need to distinguish colors asserts itself first of all for the dyestuff
 itself. It seems to be by no means usual for the color word to be
 derived from the dyestuff, since I am able to find this in Bakairi
 only for blue-black = soot-color; among the Tupi, for example,
una black = "burned," and the form often applied to animals,
pischuna, means "burned skin." This word is also used for "blue";
 the brilliant blue arara has gone over into zoology as "Psittacus
ararauna" = arara una. Nowhere is the word for urucú contained

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171 in the color word for red, nor the word for the white clay in the
192 color word for white. I believe that the dyestuffs are far older
196 than the need for distinguishing them according to their colors.

[193] This is probable for the Bakairi because of two points: first, the color adjectives, with the single exception of "red, orange," do not belong to the inventory of the Karaiben base-language; secondly, their construction according to the schema t-stem-eng bears the stamp of a more recent formation.

ooo I may doubtless also be permitted to use such a situation to support the earlier argument about the origin of personal color ornamentation (see pp. 172 ff.). No matter how ancient and innate the joy of color may assuredly be, nevertheless the circumstance that a need to distinguish the colors of the dyestuffs with words did not manifest itself until late speaks in favor of the view /422/ that colored ornamentation was not first used on the body for the sake of the colors. Since whatever was worn on the body as trophies or for practical purposes was actually distinguished by varying colors, which must have given pleasure, people quite naturally came to want to use them also for enjoyment, and from this time on the earliest distinctions by means of names for colors began, within these, in turn, the first certainty was gained also for the colors that were fashioned, whereas the need for distinguishing green and blue was satisfied by words which were still vague, such as "parakeet-colored."

171 One more thing must not be forgotten. The Indian does not
192 form general judgments, such as "the trees are green, the sky is
811 blue." Nothing induces him to analyze this view presented to him by the external world; it is of no interest to his person in any activity and is something taken for granted, such as that water is wet. What does interest him in making distinctions according to color is animals and plants. His principal application of the color names acquired is here and it is necessary to find out here how he proceeds with color names in his own usage.

171 With this in mind I looked through the list of animal names
192 in the glossary of Martius, in which some 1300 have been col-
825 lected from the total literature. "Parakeet-colored," cugui, for "blue and green" is used only a single time in the case of a

/422 cont./

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boa-make which Martins calls "viridis vel azureus Coluber
aestivus L." The ordinary distinctions according to color, the
number of which is smaller than one would expect, are black,
white, red, and yellow; without placing any importance on
absolute accuracy, I count 28 birds, 23 fish, 9 mammals, 4
snakes, and 12 lower animals which are differentiated according
to those four colors. But now two more words occur for "color-
ful" /bunt, "gay-colored, mixed, spotted"/, one of which,
pinima, with the verb "to paint" of the same stem, is used for
fish, three birds, the jaguar, one snake, one lizard, one cray-
fish, and the other, paragoa, means simply "parrot" and also
furnishes a parrot-fish and a parrot-make. Pure "green" is al-
ways parrot-colored or parakeet-colored; where a "blue" is to
be distinguished, the animal is also given the additional word
una (burned) = black or dark.

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It cannot be expressed more clearly that the Indian is in-
duced to make a sharp color-distinction only when it is a matter
of color qualities familiar to him from the dyestuffs, in other
words, that his own experience, not his sense of color, furnishes
the material for the sharply defined concepts.

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The list of plant names by Martins, somewhat over 1000 in
number, offers an interesting comparison. Eight plants are given
the title black, 7 white, 7 red, 2 yellow. It is obvious that
among the plants "green" does not form a distinguishing mark.
Yet here, too, we come across on one occasion the cugui or
"parakeet-colored," sometimes translated "green," sometimes
"blue," and, to be sure, it corresponds to /423/ a specific blue,
since it refers to Indigofera anil L. Three plants are "colorful,"
but "pinima": the parrot-colorfulness (paragoa) is lacking.

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[192]
[304]
The natives could have obtained indigo from the plant just
mentioned, but they did not know how. Martins asserts that in
the manufacture of indigo the Brazilian industrialists use Indian
labor, that it was first introduced by the Portuguese and produces
a not very desirable kind. Genipap-black has a blue tinge and
thus corresponds very well to the referring of blue to black in the
color designations. The blue of the tattooing also comes from
the black.

/423 cont./

the black. If one examines the collections in the Museum für Völkerkunde, which are still free of blue embroidery beads and fabrics, one will understand the entire situation at a glance. There on the painted implements one finds only red, yellow, white, and black, and the feather ornamentation also shows green and blue; it shows both colors in brilliant purity, but unsorted, arbitrarily blended together in any fashion, and, with the other colors, in a luminous total picture which invites general admiration but not detailed analysis. In modern art this is called a color symphony, and it is understandable that from a symphony one does not learn scales. In the soul of the Indian it looks the same as in a shop window. The only blue and green he has at home is in the shape of his parakeets and parrots or similar ornamental birds, and so he takes their name for the color name, which suffices for blue and green.

He always definitely made one distinction between blue and green: he ranked blue, but not green, with black or dark. Why does he not sometimes also call a green "black-dark"? The only reason seems to be that cases where a green is so striking that it is used as the distinguishing feature of a designation are very rare, aside from the parrots themselves, as the lists show, and then it is always a matter of a luminous parrot-green. On the other hand, among the animals distinguished with "black-dark" = blue, the dark blue always predominates; thus, even the *ararauna*, probably the lightest of these, has, according to Brehm, "all upper parts along with the tail-coverts dark sky-blue"; the feathers often have even a very blackish shade on the outer part of the vane, and only when the bird is flying along bathed in full sunlight does a lighter, misty azure become notable.

/424/

Chapter XVI. The Pareisi.

On the history of the Pareisi and tribes related to them. Our visitors. Language. Anthropological. On the ethnography (dress, ethnographic yields, intoxicating beverages, dance

3: Abreu

SP7 Bacairi SP7

● 192

/The incidental translation of Bacairi words as a result of grammatical analysis will be found in category 193./

/227 cont. /

- 192 1 Bakaéri, waráiu, kxaraiwa aceyebidúo
 193 Bakaeri Tapuia Brazilian .when they quarreled
 539

arinedili
 they became.

- 2 Kxiwimári iewirâpadili
 Our captain became angry

- 3 Ayi amarémo tokedúo tohi
 Enough you /pl./ when he said people

ewánu iniyadili.
 their illness made it.

- 4 Iniyatúo idanára anayido áyâ kxöiyeli
 When made it all animal with we died

- 5 Ilapūriñe emedili wâyâ yamadili.
 Then dawn above became dark.

- 6 Xixi eyacého yamu inenaxúli.
 Sun his coming out dark closed-it.

- 7 Inenaxudúo iyawinu iniyadili.
 When closed it cold made it.

- 8 Xixi eyacedúo yamadili.
 Sun when came out became dark.

- 9 Yamatúo xirimúka eyacéli.
 When became dark star came out.

/228/
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● 192

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Ayö yamu iyawinu iniyadili.
Quite dark cold made it.

11 Aritúo udódo ahapanokeli.
Then jaguar appeared.

12 Péto ayö ayaetiño-modo iniyadili.
Fire enough ancients made it.

13 Taxo ahitokili püreu ahitokili.
Knife played arrow played.

14 Tāwi-ye iyedāri tunanen
Their hunger with those who did not die strong
niye-pa tohinóhe.
die not remain.

15 Ilapūriñe iwerâ-pa-itúo xixi eyaceli.
Then today not being sun came out.

16 Xixi kxurotal ayaetiño-modo amiduadili.
Sun midday ancients ate.

17 Ilapūriñe ayi xikidúo péto ōro
Then much slept fire earth
odákxa eyaceli.
inside came out.

18 Xixi péto-ára idili.
Sun fire like became.

19 Ce adapikú-ye iyéli.
Tree heat with died.

/229/

● 192

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20 Páru çavéli.
Water dried.

Páru çavedúo kxána iyéli.
Water when dried fish died.

22 Kxána iyedúo cenena kxana
Fish when dried urubu fish

çani.
ate-it.

23 Páru çavedúo anayido iyéli páru
Water when dried animal died water

tinenedili.
wanted to drink.

24 Apa anáhi idanára iyéli.
Mandioca maize all died.

25 Áritibiñe kxöiyeli.
Then we died.

26 Kxöiyedúo cenerá-la kxani.
When we died urubu ate us.

27 Áráyi kxapüráne be-ba awiliye.
Someone buries us is not thus.

28 Idanára anayido iyeli.
All animals died.

29 Arítibiñe ayi-pa kxütúo
Then many not when we remained

- 192 /230/ kziwimári parutába inepehenili.
 193 our captain sea blessed it (blew).

539

- 30 Aritúo parutába ayo-idili, péto enaxekili.
 Then sea rose, fire put it out

- 31 Kxaraiwa idamú-do niõretudili.
 Brazilian his grandfathers dreamed-it.

- 32 Mára núna iwâyâ parutába ivehe
 That moon over sea will swell

yamüra keli.
 spirit said.

- 33 Tonudõ- na keduo miyewadili-la
 His people for when said you lie

iunudo keli.
 his people said.

- 34 Tunudo kedúo pi inanadili.
 His people when said ax picked it up.

- 35 Pepi ima xiyace.
 Canoe large made it.

- 36 Ata takxahen pepi.
 House high canoe.

- 37 Iläe tipiniri inadili pepi odaḷ.
 Then his food takes it canoe inside.

- 38 Iläe kxopáe timeri tiwüdi
 Then at night his child his wife

/231/ áyâ anela oxedili.
with alone sailed.

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Oxedibi-ñe parutaba çalokxuli.
When he sailed sea rose.

40 Çalokxuli kxopae.
Rose at night.

41 Aritúo idanara anayido ayâ kxöiyéli.
Then all animal with we died.

42 Töiwedúo çayuno iniyadili.
When swelled sand made it.

43 Iwerâ-pa mâra tapiku wâyâ çavelli.
Today not that heat above came down.

44 Çavedúo çayuno tuxûe
When came down sand stone to

atuyudili
turned.

45 Ilapüriñe òro acemakéli.
Then the earth is exchanged.

46 Kxái-na òro idâli.
Sky to earth went.

45 #7/ Idâdúo kxáu ayâ-na xirimúca idâli.
When went sky with star went.

48 Pimiri ara tawöyên atuyudili.
Ant like flying thing became.

- 192 /232/49 Tawöyen atuyudili kxonopio ara.
 193 Flying thing became little bird like.

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- 50 Idanâra anayido ara kxidatuyudili.
 All animals like we became.

- 51 Ilapūriñe ayökxitúo tohi ewanu-ye
 Then when we grew our work with

kxidacenomedadili.
 we learned.

- 52 Idu-pe-ba ilapūriñe pohi ara
 Forest there was not then grass like

idu yahele.
 forest grew.

- 53 Mára adapiku wâyâ apa
 That heat over mandioca

ewili ipūri-būri eyaheli
 its fruit its old seed germinated

pohi anal.
 grass (campo) middle of.

193

Before giving the translation of this text, let us take it as the theme to accompany a few grammatical explanations.

One fact strikes us at once: the sentences follow one another, each usually with only one verb, without interdependence or subordination. In other words: as far as syntax is concerned, Kura-itano uses parataxis exclusively. /233/ The greatest complexity attained by the sentence is that of apposition, enumeration, or parallelism, which does not exceed the scope of parataxis.